

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 146487
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66011
DRAFTED BY IO/UNA:BJSHARP
APPROVED BY IO/UNA:JFTEFFT
S/S-O:RCASTRODALE
-----127618 090319Z /61
O 090113Z JUN 78 ZFF5
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE 0000

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NODIS
FOR AMB YOUNG FROM UNA

FOL RPT DAR ES SALAAM 2455 ACTION SECSTATE 8 JUN 78 QUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL DAR ES SALAAM 2455

NODIS
FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PEPR, US, FR, TZ
SUBJECT: NYERERE ON WESTERN NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

REF: A) DAR ES SALAAM 2453 B) DAR ES SALAAM 2454

1. SUMMARY: THE MAIN SIGNIFICANCE OF NYERERE'S JUNE 8 BLAST AT WESTERN NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA IS THAT IT REPRESENTS A SUDDEN (BUT POSSIBLY TEMPORARY) COLLAPSE OF FAITH IN US INTENTIONS. IN RESPONSE TO IT, OUR FIRST ACT SHOULD BE TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT THAT USG IS NOT DOING

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THE THINGS NYERERE ALLEGES. WE SHOULD THEN DECIDE WHETHER WE WANT TO (A) TREAT THE OUTBURST IN A NARROW FRAMEWORK WHILE CONTINUING BUSINESS AS USUAL, (B) MAKE CLEAR OUR DISPLEASURE ABOUT NYERERE'S LACK OF FAITH IN US AND PULL BACK SOMEWHAT FROM RECENT ACTIVE AND INTIMATE COOPERATION WITH HIM, WHILE WAITING TO SEE HOW FAR HE INTENDS TO GO, OR (C) ABANDON OUR EFFORTS TO SEEK AND RETAIN MAJOR AREAS OF MUTUAL INTEREST WITH RADICAL

AFRICAN NYERERE. I RECOMMEND FOR TIME BEING AT LEAST COURSE

(A). END SUMMARY.

2. IT IS INTERESTING TO SPECULATE ON WHAT NYERERE MIGHT HAVE DONE IF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER DISAVOING ANY OF THE COLONIALIST ACTIVITIES NYERERE FEARS HAD REACHED NYERERE BEFORE HIS PUBLIC BLAST. ON BALANCE, I THINK HE WAS SUFFICIENTLY KEYED UP THAT HE WOULD HAVE GONE AHEAD ANYWAY. THE IMPORTANT FACT AT THE MOMENT IS THAT HIS TRUST IN US HAS COLLAPSED --EVEN IF ONLY TEMPORARILY. THE INSPIRATION FOR THE OUTBURST IS UNCERTAIN, BUT IT IS PROBABLY BASED ON NYERERE'S HABITUAL WIDE LISTENING TO RADIO AND NEWS MEDIA AND HIS TENDENCY TO ASSUME THAT WESTERN MEDIA EXPLANATIONS REPRESENT GOVERNMENT DECISIONS. IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT SOMEONE HAS DELIBERATELY SUPPLIED HIM WITH INFORMATION DESIGNED TO PROVE HIS SUSPICIONS CORRECT.

3. IN ANY EVENT, WE ARE DEALING ONCE AGAIN WITH THE "OLD NYERERE", THE SUPER-SENSITIVE, SUSPICIOUS, VOLATILE ONE THAT WE HAVE NOT SEEN SINCE COOPERATION WITH HIM WAS ESTABLISHED ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN MATTERS. WE ARE REMINDED ALSO OF THE NYERERE WHO IS INTENSELY JEALOUS OF HIS RIGHT TO LECTURE ANYONE AND EVERYONE ON REAL OR FANCIED FAULTS, INCLUDING PRAISING AND DAMNING THE SAME TARGET FOR DIFFERENT THINGS AT THE SAME TIME. IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT HE DID NOT MENTION RHODESIA OR NAMIBIA, WHICH SUGGESTS THAT HE MAY BE READY TO CONTINUE, IF MRE SUSPICIOUSLY, COOPERATION WITH THE WEST ON THESE ISSUES.

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4. THE FIRST THING WE SHOULD DO IS TO MAKE CLEAR BOTH PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY THAT NYERERE'S CHARGES OF US INVOLVEMENT IN NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA ARE UNFOUNDED. THE PURPOSES HE ATTRIBUTES TO THE WASHINGTON PARIS, AND BRUSSELS MEETINGS ARE SIMPLY INCORRECT.. SINCE HE HAS MADE THE CHARGES WITH MAXIMUM PUBLICITY, WE SHOULD REPLY PUBLICLY AND UNCATEGORICALLY, BUT WITHOUT MAKING THE RESPONSE A PERSONAL ATTACK ON HIM. WE SHOULD ALSO TAKE CARE NOT TO ENCOURAGE MORE COVERAGE OF OUR REPLY THAN HIS CHARGE GETS IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA. (WHAT WAS THE EVENT OF THE YEAR IN DAR ES SALAAM MAY TURN OUT TO BE NOTHING AT ALL ON THE FRONT PAGES OF THE WORLD PRESS.)

5. WE NEED THEN TO DECIDE (A) WHETHER WE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO CONTINUE USEFUL COOPERATION WITH NYERERE, LARGELY IGNORING HIS OUTBURST EXCEPT FOR PARA 4 ABOVE, (B) WHETHER IN VIEW OF HIS LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN US, WE SHOULD DEMONSTRATE A RECIPROCAL DOUBT BY PULLING BACK IN OUR RELATIONSHIP, OR (C) WHETHER WE SHOULD CONCLUDE THAT FRUITFUL COOPERATION WITH RADICAL AFRICANS, OR AT LEAST WITH THIS PARTICULAR ONE, IS USELESS, AND SET OUR POLICY WITHOUT REGARD TO HIS FEELINGS.

6. I RECOMMEND THE FIRST COURSE, WITH A FALL BACK TO THE SECOND ONLY IF NYERERE'S CURRENT NEGATIVE ATTITUDE PERSISTS AND SPREADS TO OTHER ISSUES, E.G., RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, AND THE PEACE CORPS. THAT NYERERE IS IN FACT INCORRECT IN HIS CHARGES IS IMPORTANT. IF HE COMES TO REALIZE THIS AS A RESULT OF REEXAMINATION OF THE SITUATION, LACK OF SUPPORT FOR HIS EXTREME POSITION FROM OTHER AFRICAN STATES, AND THE COURSE OF EVENTS, HE WILL NOT RETRACT, BUT HE WILL IGNORE OR EVEN REVERSE HIS POSITION.

7. AN OPERATIONAL QUESTION IMMEDIATELY ARISES. WHAT SHOULD WE DO ABOUT PRESIDENT CARTER'S REPLY TO NYERERE'S LETTER IN WHICH NYERERE'S SUSPICIONS WERE FIRST RAISED IN A PRIVATE AND MORE MODERATE WAY? I AM INTRIGUED WITH THE IDEA OF SIMPLY GOING CONFIDENTIAL

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AHEAD AND SENDING A LETTER OF THE KIND WE HAVE CONSIDERED, DATING IT JUNE 8, AND LETTING NYERERE WONDER WHETHER IT WAS WRITTEN BEFORE OR AFTER HIS OUTBURST. THIS COULD PRIVATELY EMBARRASS HIM AND ENCOURAGE HIM TO STOP AND PERHAPS EVEN REGRET WHAT HE IS DOING. (THE LETTER WOULD HAVE TO GET HERE EXPEDITIOUSLY.)

8. IN ADDITION TO THE PUBLIC STATEMENT RECOMMENDED IN PARA 4 ABOVE, I COULD THEN EXPRESS MY OWN DEEP PERSONAL REGRET THAT NYERERE DID NOT GIVE US TIME TO PRESENT HIM WITH THE TRUE FACTS. I WOULD ALSO TELL HIM THAT, HOWEVER LEGITIMATE HIS LOGIC, HIS SUSPICIONS WERE SIMPLY UNFOUNDED, AND HIS EXPRESSION OF THEM INEVITABLY MAKES MORE DIFFICULT THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO WORK ON AFRICAN SOLUTIONS OF THE KIND ON WHICH WE ARE BOTH AGREED.

9. THE SECOND US OPTION, TO PULL BACK, COULD INVOLVE, IN ADDITION TO OUR PUBLIC STATEMENT, A MORE DIRECT AND FORCEFUL RESPONSE FROM PRESIDENT CARTER DIRECTED SPECIFICALLY TO NYERERE'S PUBLIC PRESENTATION. WE MIGHT ALSO UNDERTAKE A NOTICEABLE REDUCTION IN OUR EFFORTS TO COOPERATE WITH NYERERE ON NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. I COULD STRONGLY EXPRESS MY DISTRESS THAT NYERERE HAD NOT WARNED US IN ADVANCE OF WHAT HE INTENDED TO DO AND THAT HE HAD SO LITTLE FAITH IN US ON THE COLONIALIST ISSUE. I COULD NOT HELP BUT WONDER WHAT THIS BODED FOR OUR ABILITY TO CONTINUE TO COOPERATE ON OTHER QUESTIONS.

10. THE THIRD OPTION, "GIVE UP ON RADICAL AFRICA", WOULD CENTER ON TREATING WHAT NYERERE HAS DONE AS A RUDE AND INSULTING ACT AND REACTING ACCORDINGLY. ASIDE FROM NYERERE'S PERSONAL DIS-COURTESY TO PRESIDENT CARTER IN GOING PUBLIC IN MIDSTREAM, HE HAS DAMAGED THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S ARGUMENT AT HOME FOR APPROACHING SOUTHERN AFRICA PROBLEMS IN COOPERATION WITH

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AFRICAN STATES LIKE TANZANIA. WE WOULD LET NYERERE KNOW UNMISTAKABLY THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO LOOK THAT SITUATION REGRETFULLY BUT SQUARELY IN THE FACE. IF THAT IS THE WAY HE WANTS TO DO BUSINESS, WE SEE NO POINT IN SEEKING CONTINUED COOPERATION.

11. AS INDICATED, I WOULD LIKE TO TRY THE FIRST COURSE -- IF YOU FEEL IT ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY, REVISED TO BRING IN A NEW BUT NON-CONFRONTATIONAL PRESIDENTIAL LETTER, SUPPLEMENTED BY TALKING POINTS ON WHATEVER FEELING OK REGRET DEPARTMENT THINKS IT NECESSARY TO EXPRESS. IN ANY EVENT, I WOULD WELCOME DEPARTMENT'S REACTION ASAP.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTERVENTION, TROOP DEPLOYMENT, NEOCOLONIALISM, CAT-B, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 jun 1978
Decapton Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decapton Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE146487
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: BJSHARP
Enclosure: REPEAT OF DAR ES SALAAM 2455
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: N780005-0400
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780675/aaaacmrr.tel
Line Count: 190
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 93c8428c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 78 DAR ES SALAAM 2453, 78 DAR ES SALAAM 2454
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 jul 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2412932
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NYERERE ON WESTERN NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA
TAGS: PEPR, PINS, PGOV, US, FR, TZ, CG, (NYERERE, JULIUS K)
To: USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/93c8428c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014